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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 COR-01 AMAD-01 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 HA-09
H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00
PM-01 P-01 RP-10 SNP-01 SP-01 SS-01 TRSE-00
T-01 /034W

-----32E751 151223Z /38

R 131424Z MAY 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0667
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

RELEASED IN PART
1.4(D), 1.4(B)

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KIGALI 01978

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (PARA 3)

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: PREL, PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: HABYARIMANA TELLS COHEN TRANSITION
- GOVERNMENT CAN GOVERN

REF: A) KAMPALA 2581 B) KAMPALA 2617

1. C - ENTIRE TEXT.

SUMMARY

2. ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN BRIEFED PRESIDENT
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HABYARIMANA ON HIS MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT MUSEVENI
AND RPF LEADERS IN UGANDA. HE SAID THE RPF SEEMS
READY FOR A CEASEFIRE AND NEGOTIATIONS, AND MUSEVENI
AGREED TO PRESS THE RPF TO NEGOTIATE SERIOUSLY.
ASKED TO RESPOND TO RPF ALLEGATIONS THAT THE NEW
GOVERNMENT CAN'T GOVERN BECAUSE HABYARIMANA HAS ALL
POWER, THE PRESIDENT SAID HE HAS GIVEN AUTHORITY TO
THE GOVERNMENT. COHEN PRAISED THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS
SO FAR, AND CONGRATULATED THE PRESIDENT ON THE
PROGRESS. HE ALSO TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT HE THOUGHT
THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S OUTLINE OF A PEACE STRATEGY

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE
REVIEW AUTHORITY: WILLIAM E LANDFAIR
CLASSIFICATION: CONFIDENTIAL REASON: 1.4(B), 1.4(D)
DECLASSIFY AFTER: 12 MAY 2012
DATE/CASE ID: 27 APR 2005 200103014

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WAS A GOOD ONE. COHEN EXPRESSED CONCERN ABOUT DETERIORATING SECURITY IN RWANDA, AND WAS TOLD BY THE PRESIDENT THAT THE FRENCH HAVE AGREED TO PROVIDE ANTI-TERRORISM EXPERTS TO HELP RESOLVE THE PROBLEM. THE PRESIDENT ASKED FOR CONTINUING U.S. HELP WITH DEMOCRACY AND STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT, AND WELCOMES THE POSSIBILITY OF U.S. PARTICIPATION IN NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF. END SUMMARY.

3. PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ASKED TO SEE ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN TWICE DURING HIS THIRTY-THREE HOUR STOP IN KIGALI MAY 10 AND 11. DURING THE MEETING SUNDAY MAY 10, THE TWO MET ALONE. DURING THE MONDAY MEETING THE PRESIDENT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY THE FOREIGN MINISTER, CHEF DU CABINET, RUHIGIRA, AND AMBASSADOR TO WASHINGTON UWIMANA; THE PRESIDENT EXCUSED HIS COLLEAGUES FOR PART OF THE MEETING, BUT AMBASSADOR FLATEN REMAINED THROUGHOUT.

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4. IN BOTH MEETINGS PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA EXPRESSED WARM THANKS FOR THE SUPPORT WHICH THE UNITED STATES HAS GIVEN TO RWANDA, BOTH ECONOMIC AND DIPLOMATIC DURING THE PAST COUPLE OF YEARS. HE ASKED ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN TO CONVEY TO PRESIDENT BUSH HIS THANKS FOR HIS SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT IN THIS "NOT EASY ADVENTURE" OF DEMOCRACY. COHEN PROMISED TO PASS HIS WORDS TO THE PRESIDENT WHO, IN SPITE OF THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, IS STILL INTERESTED IN HIS FRIENDS, SO THE PRESIDENT WILL ASK COHEN QUESTIONS ABOUT THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN RWANDA WHEN HE RETURNS. IN THE PRIVATE SESSION, THE PRESIDENT HINTED AT A REQUEST FOR A MEETING WITH PRESIDENT BUSH. AMBASSADOR COHEN RESPONDED THAT IT IS VERY DIFFICULT, IF NOT IMPOSSIBLE, TO ARRANGE SUCH MEETINGS DURING THE LAST SIX MONTHS OF A PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEAR. THE QUESTION WAS NOT PURSUED FURTHER.

DEMOCRACY

5. IN THE SECOND MEETING, THE PRESIDENT ASKED FOR COHEN'S IMPRESSIONS FROM HIS VISIT. THE ASSISTANT SECRETARY BEGAN WITH PRAISING THE EFFORTS TAKEN SO

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FAR TO CREATE A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM AS A WELL PLANNED
TRANSITION. HE SAID THE METHOD CHOSEN BY RWANDA
SEEMED WISE, UNLIKE SOME OTHER AFRICANS WHO FELT THEY
HAD TO THROW OUT THE OLD LEADERS BEFORE CHANGE COULD
TAKE PLACE. HE TOLD THE PRESIDENT HE WAS VERY
PLEASED WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF "NATIONAL
RECONCILIATION". ON THE QUESTION OF THE NATIONAL
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CONFERENCE, HE TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT IF THE
TRANSITION GOVERNMENT WORKS WELL THERE WOULD BE NO
NEED FOR A NATIONAL CONFERENCE. HE CONCLUDED BY
AGAIN CONGRATULATING PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA ON THE
PROGRESS TO DATE OF THE TRANSITION TO DEMOCRACY.

6. COHEN SAID THAT HE RECOGNIZED THAT IT IS A
DIFFERENT GOVERNMENT, BUT THAT RWANDA MUST NOT GIVE
THE IMPRESSION TO OUTSIDERS THAT NOTHING HAS
CHANGED. IN HIS PRIVATE MEETING COHEN TOLD THE
PRESIDENT THAT THERE ARE MANY FEARS AND SUSPICIONS
AMONG THE PARTIES OF THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY AND
ENTOURAGE. THE PRESIDENT SAID THE PROCESS WAS NOT

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	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01	SP-01	SS-01	TRSE-00	T-01
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R 131424Z MAY 92
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0668
INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KIGALI 01978

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
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SUBJECT: HABYARIMANA TELLS COHEN TRANSITION

EASY AND TWICE CALLED ON US TO HELP PERSUADE THE
OPPOSITION TO MODERATE ITS LANGUAGE AND ITS FORM OF
CRITICISM OF THE PRESIDENT AND HIS PARTY, IN ORDER TO
MAKE POSSIBLE COOPERATION AMONG THE FIVE PARTIES IN
THE TRANSITION GOVERNMENT.

7. IN HIS CONCLUSION, THE PRESIDENT SAID THAT RWANDA
WANTS U.S. HELP IN DEVELOPING THE MULTIPARTY SYSTEM.
THE GOAL IS TO HAVE ELECTED OFFICIALS AND HE AND THE
MRND WANTS TO MOVE TO ELECTIONS AS QUICKLY AS

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POSSIBLE. THE MRND IS EAGER TO INVITE FOREIGN
OBSERVERS TO WATCH THESE ELECTIONS SO THAT THEY WILL
BE SEEN TO BE FREE AND FAIR.

THE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE

8. ASSISTANT SECRETARY COHEN BRIEFED PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA ON HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH RPF
REPRESENTATIVES AND PRESIDENT MUSEVENI IN KAMPALA.
IN SUMMARY HE TOLD HABYARIMANA THAT THE RPF SAID IT
IS READY TO NEGOTIATE, THAT AN OBSERVABLE CEASEFIRE
SHOULD BE ACCOMPLISHED, THAT REFUGEES SHOULD BE FREE
TO RETURN AND THAT THE RPF FORCES SHOULD BE
INTEGRATED INTO THE ARMY. THE RPF SAID IT FEARED
THAT THE NEW GOVERNMENT WAS NOT FREE TO GOVERN AS
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA MAINTAINED CONTROL IN HIS HANDS
UNDER THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION.

1.4(B)

COHEN TOLD THE
PRESIDENT THAT HE HAD ASKED IF ANY OF THESE

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CONDITIONS WERE NON-NEGOTIABLE. THE RPF SAID ONLY THE RIGHT OF RETURN OF REFUGEES WAS NON-NEGOTIABLE.

9. THE PRESIDENT REJECTED THE NOTION THAT THE GOVERNMENT DOES NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO GOVERN, POINTING OUT THAT HE HAD ALREADY AGREED TO HAVE THE PRIME MINISTER PRESIDE OVER MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS ON A COUPLE OF OCCASIONS. HE INSISTED THE NEW GOVERNMENT GOVERNS AND WILL BE ABLE TO FUNCTION. THE PRESIDENT ALSO RESPONDED THAT THE

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RIGHT OF REFUGEES TO RETURN IS ALREADY HIS FIRM COMMITMENT, BUT HE ADDED THAT THE INTEGRATION OF THE RPF FORCES INTO THE RWANDAN ARMY WOULD BE DIFFICULT.

[REDACTED]

1.4(B)

10. AMBASSADOR COHEN TOLD HABYARIMANA THAT ALTHOUGH UGANDAN PRESIDENT MUSEVENI CONTINUES TO INSIST THAT THE CONFLICT IS ENTIRELY BETWEEN THE RPF AND THE GOR,

[REDACTED]

MUSEVENI HAS

1.4(D)

ALSO EXPRESSED THE OPINION THAT VERY FEW OF THE RWANDAN REFUGEES WOULD ACTUALLY RETURN TO RWANDA, AND HE COMMITTED HIMSELF TO PROVIDING CITIZENSHIP TO THOSE WHO WISHED TO REMAIN IN UGANDA AS CITIZENS.

[REDACTED]

1.4(D)

12. COHEN TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT HE HAD BEEN IMPRESSED IN HIS MEETINGS IN KIGALI WITH THE HEAVY WEIGHT OF THE WAR ON EVERYONE, THE ECONOMY, THE DISPLACED, THE SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE ON THE BORDER. HE SAID THAT AS A DIPLOMAT HE HAD STUDIED THE PROPOSAL MADE BY THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

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FOR ENDING THE WAR AND FOUND IT A GOOD PLAN. HE
ESPECIALLY PRAISED THE TWO-PRONGED APPROACH,
CONTAINING NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF AND UGANDA
SIMULTANEOUSLY. HE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT UGANDA
SHOULD BE WILLING TO SIGN A NON-AGGRESSION PACT IF
NOT FORCED TO ADMIT THAT IT HAD COMMITTED AGGRESSION
IN THE FIRST PLACE. HE USED THE EXAMPLE OF THE
NON-AGGRESSION PACT BETWEEN ANGOLA AND SOUTH AFRICA.

INTERNAL SECURITY AND TERRORISM

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R 131424Z MAY 92
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INFO AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KIGALI 01978

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13. NOTING THE DETERIORATING INTERNAL SECURITY SITUATION, AND ACTS OF TERRORISM WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE RECENTLY, AMBASSADOR COHEN INFORMED THE PRESIDENT THAT NEITHER AMERICANS NOR OTHER FOREIGNERS COULD BE EXPECTED TO REMAIN IN RWANDA IF THE SECURITY PROBLEMS CONTINUE TO WORSEN. HE ASKED IF IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT THERE WERE EXTREMISTS WITHIN THE PRESIDENT'S ENTOURAGE BEHIND SOME OF THE INCIDENTS. THE PRESIDENT REACTED FORCEFULLY TO DENY THAT ANY
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MEMBERS OF HIS GROUP OR FAMILY ARE INVOLVED IN ANY ACTIVITIES OF THIS SORT. HE DID ADMIT THAT THERE HAS BEEN BANDITISM BY MEMBERS OF THE ARMED FORCES, BUT HE INSISTED THAT ATTACKS WITH MINES AND BOMBS WERE ONLY COMMITTED BY RPF TERRORISTS.

14. WHEN COHEN RETURNED TO THE SECURITY QUESTION IN THE SECOND MEETING, HE TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT IT SEEMED THERE HAD BEEN EXTREMISTS ON BOTH SIDES. HABYARIMANA WAS CALMER THIS TIME, NOTING ONLY THAT THE THOUGHT THAT TERRORISM MIGHT BE COMING FROM HIS OWN ENTOURAGE WAS A NEW ONE AND THAT HE HAD NOT YET HAD TIME TO COMPLETE HIS INVESTIGATION.

15. COHEN TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT HE HAD TALKED WITH PARTY LEADERS ABOUT TERRORISM AND HAD MADE CLEAR TO THEM THAT THIS WAS AN UNACCEPTABLE FORM OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY. HE SAID IT MUST STOP. OTHERWISE, AS IN ZAIRE, FOREIGN COMMERCE AND AID WILL COME TO AN END AS EXPATRIATES LEAVE THE COUNTRY AND ARE UNABLE TO ADMINISTER EITHER THEIR BUSINESSES OR THEIR AID PROGRAMS.

16. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE WAS WELL AWARE OF THE PROBLEM, THAT HE TALKED WITH GENERAL VARRET, HEAD OF FRENCH MILITARY ASSISTANCE, WHO HAS PROMISED TO SEND TWO EXPERTS ON TERRORISM TO HELP WITH HIS INVESTIGATIONS. HE SAID HE IS ALSO CREATING A NATIONAL COMMISSION ON INTERNAL SECURITY. BUT HE INSISTED THAT THE TERRORISM IS THE THIRD PHASE OF THE RPF'S STRATEGY TO TAKE OVER RWANDA AND THAT THE
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INVESTIGATIONS WILL PROVE RPF CULPABILITY. COHEN
APPLAUDED THE WILLINGNESS OF THE FRENCH TO PROVIDE
ANTI-TERRORISM EXPERTS. HE TOLD THE PRESIDENT THAT
THE FRENCH HAVE MANY VERY CAPABLE EXPERTS IN THIS
FIELD.

17. IN THE MEETING WITH THE PRESIDENT, THE FOREIGN
MINISTER SAID HE WOULD BE HAPPY TO HAVE FRANCE AND
THE U.S. OBSERVE, AND HAD NOT MEANT TO EXCLUDE THE
POSSIBILITY OF A PRESENCE OF MEDIATORS IN THE DIRECT
NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE RPF. (SEPTTEL). THE PRESIDENT
ADDED THAT THE AMERICAN PRESENCE WOULD HELP TO MAKE
THE PROCESS WORK, CLEARLY ADDING HIS ENDORSEMENT TO
THE PRIME MINISTER'S PREVIOUS ENDORSEMENT OF U.S.
OBSERVERS BEING AT THE NEXT ROUND OF RPF-GOR
NEGOTIATIONS.

STRUCTURAL ADJUSTMENT

18. THE PRESIDENT SAID HE COUNTS ON U.S. SUPPORT FOR
THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL
INSTITUTIONS. HE SAID SO FAR AS HE WAS CONCERNED ALL
OF THE CONDITIONALITIES HAD BEEN SATISFIED, AND THE
RWANDAN ECONOMY WAS UNDER CONTROL EXCEPT FOR MILITARY
EXPENSES. HE SAID THE FORMER AGREEMENTS HAD BEEN
BASED ON THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE WAR WOULD END BEFORE
THE END OF 1991. THEREFORE THE CONTINUATION OF THE
WAR MAKES IT IMPOSSIBLE TO MEET ALL OF THE CONDITIONS
NOW. AS RWANDA ENTERS NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE
FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS, IT WOULD LIKE OUR SUPPORT AND
UNDERSTANDING.

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